which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs
(*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) com-
moners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*).
The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and
their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their
own group. As one could marry only within his
own moiety this often meant village exogamy to
members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the prin-
cipal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy ap-
proaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the
dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the
sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony.
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [568]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of
common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again,
marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired
status through war or marriage into the two upper
classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, fol-
lowed them in war and danced with them during
ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in
war by killing an enemy he could become a free
man. It is said that a slave could even become
a war chief if he were particularly successful in
war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or
killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war-
rior class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all cere-
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet [534]
as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [239]
feathers.

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. 177 182 795

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. 178 567 565 [648] [1797]

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. 178 182 565 [464] [511] [361] [171]

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Chaco Period]

881
also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 622
This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565
father and in the presence of all the members of
the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292]
the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion
did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584
tween their children while the children were still
young. The parents of the boy would take presents
to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents
accepted, they would take their girl to the house
of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day
or two. When the girl returned she was consid-
ered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage tak-
ing place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, [567]●
was rather an elaborate performance. On going
to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and
mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led
a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave
was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*.
Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents
were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The
yuhokóti remained standing until he made his
speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying,
"*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to ar-
range about your girl). The girl's father, if he
agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All
right, I shall receive you). The messenger then
sat down and the parents discussed the marriage
of their children. When arrangements had been
completed the boy's parents left their gifts and
departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585
ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574
ents invited relatives and friends and built a spe-
cial shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which
the dances were performed. Much food and drink
were prepared for the guests. When the guests
had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom
and his parents. When the groom arrived he said,
"*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To
this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye
eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my
son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585
mock on which the bride was already seated. The
groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

566

567

/Information on the "slave" or "vassal" relationship of the Guana to the Mbaya people will be found in category 648./

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 almost no help in reconstruct-
173 ing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[17] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

● 567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
●567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G
565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these
G strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
[104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
M
565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

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631 59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [854] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [567] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
587

63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Waherê-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

[Traditional Culture]

/42 cont./

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class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahereˆ-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahereˆ-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Tereˆna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Tereˆna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

[171]